#460.

Gallienus Redivivus

OR,

Murther Will Out &c.

Being a true Account of the

DE-WITTING

OF

Glencoe, Gaffney, &c.

They gave out that the design of their Coming was to introduce Liberty, *and depose* Tyrants: *But having gain'd the Power, They did so* Tyrannize *Themselves, That the Reign of Former Oppressors seem'd a Golden Age, if compar'd with the* Arbitrariness *and* Exaction *of these pretended* DELIVERERS; *which made the* Sicilians *think them much more happy, who Expir'd in* Servitude, *than those who Lyv'd to see such a* DISMAL FREEDOM. Plutarch. *Life of* Timoleon.

EDINBURGH, Printed in the Year, 1695.

Gallienus Redivivus:

OR

Murther Will Out &c.

THE following Account of the Barbarous *Maſſacre* of *Glenco*, was Printed in the year 1692. in the *Anſwer* to Dr. *King*'s Book, of the *State of the Proteſtants in Ireland:* And all the Reception it met with among many here in *England*, was, that it was a *Jacobite* Story, on purpoſe to Reflect upon the Government, and that there was no ſuch thing: But this is now Confuted by the Proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland*, this Summer Seſſion, 1695. Wherein they have voted the Killing the *Glenco-men* to be a Murther; and yet have Acquitted Sir *Thomas Levingſton*, and Collonel *Hill*, who gave the *Orders* for Killing of them. Why? Becauſe their Orders were but purſuant to the *Inſtructions* they had from *Court*. Where will this Lodge the *Murther?* The Deſign, it it well enough known, is to put it upon Sir *John Dalrymple*, commonly call'd *Maiſter of Stair*, one of the *Secrerarys* for *Scotland*, becauſe he is not ſo *Fiery* a *Presbyterian* as the other Secretary, *James Johnſton*, who hath it by *Inheritance* to love *Crown* and *Mitre* alike; and to have a juſt Reward for it. But *Dalrymple* is only a *Libertine*, or *Latitudinarian*, One of the Modern *No-Religion*, who are *indifferent* to *All*, ſo they be *troubled* with *none*. Therefore he cares not whether *Epiſcopacy* or *Presbytery*, or what elſe is ſet up, provided the People be eaſie with it.

NOW it being known to all the World, That the Pretence of

the *Inclinations of the People* in *Scotland*, which was made the Ground work for aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, and ſetting up *Presbytery* there, was a meer *ſhamm*, contriv'd by this *Johnſton*, and the BIGOT *Presbyterian* Party in *Scotland*; who were All put in Power, in the beginning of this *Revolution*; and ſet on the Barbarous *Rabbling* of the *Epiſcopal Clergy* in the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, that they might Cry out, The *Inclinations of the People* were againſt *Epiſcopacy*: And having, by theſe and other Arts (which are fully related in Print) *Pack'd*, and then *ſurpriz'd* the firſt *Convention*, or *meeting of Eſtates*, to Aboliſh *Epiſcopacy*: They Dare not have a New *Parliament* a (as in *England*) but keep on the ſame *Convention* (only Changing the Name into that of a *Parliament*) to this day: Becauſe no *Free Parliament* can be had in *Scotland*, which would not the firſt day, ſpue out *Presbytery*, and Re-Eſtabliſh their much more belov'd *Epiſcopacy*. And the People ſhewing great Un-eaſineſs under their preſent Eſtabliſhment (which hath been *Trick'd*, and *Forc'd* upon them.) All the *Craft* and *Violence* of the *Regnant Presbytery*, aſſiſted by *Acts of Parliament*, and all the Countenance of the *Government*, having not yet been able to Ouſt the *Epiſcopal Clergy* in the *North*, and other parts of *Scotland*, or to prevail with the *People* to admit of, or almoſt give Civil Treatment to the *Presbyterian Miniſters* ſent to them, tho' *Eſtabliſh'd by Law*. The *Presbyterian* Intereſt ſtanding there upon ſo ſlender a bottom, their *Junto* think it not ſafe to have a Man of *Dalrymple's Latitude* in *Religion*, in ſo eminent a Poſt, and near their *King*, leſt he ſhould follow the *Inclinations of the People*, *in* GOOD EARNEST, and Call a New *Parliament* there, which would ruine all their Meaſures: Therefore ways and means muſt be uſed to Remove him; and leave *Johnſton*, and the *Presbyterian Faction* in the ſole Poſſeſſion of the *Court*. At length, this of *Glenco* was pitch'd upon; which was ſo Odious, They knew their *King* durſt not own it: And therefore they would throw it upon *Dalrymple*, who was *Secretary*, and attended when the *Inſtructions* were ſent for that *Bloody Murther*. And thereby too, They would ſeem to take off the *Odium* from their *King*; This was their pretence; and they had proof enough againſt *Dalrymple*: But how that Cleared his *Maſter* will be ſeen.

a See *Exercit. Temporum*. p. 8. and 9.

THEY produced *Nine* Letters of *Dalrymple's* (of which I have Copys) concerning the *Maſſacre* of *Glenco*. And I ſhall have occaſion to mention them hereafter; I will now ſet down their ſeveral

veral *Dates*, and *Directions*; and quote them to save Repetition, only by their Number, Letter i. ii. iii. &c. The two first are directed to Lieutenant Collonel *Hamilton*, and bear Date, one the 1*st*. and the other the 3*d*. *Decemb*. 1691. the 4. next are to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, of these several Dates, 7. 9. 11. and 16 *January* 169½. Then follow two more to Collonel *Hill*, of the 16*th*. and 30*th*. of the same month: And lastly, one of the 30*th*. Ditto, to Sir *Thomas Levingston*. It seems very strange that K. W. would suffer these Letters to be exposed to the *Parliament* in *Scotland*, being most of them wrote by his Order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the Execution of *Instructions*, sent with them for the *Massacre* of *Glenco*, &c, and the Regard which his *Dear Presbyterians*, and his *Favourite Johnston*, in particular, had to his Honour, was very slender, when, to Compass their Ends, they Load him so fouly, that they might load *Dalrymple* too. *Johnston* sayes, *No*, But that he *foreseeing* (because some say, of his own *Contriving*) that the *Parliament* (who are most of them his *Creatures*, to their Honour be it spoken) would fall upon the business of *Glenco*; and that they must be, at least *seemingly* Gratified in it, otherwise that it might obstruct the *Money-Bills*, did therefore, advise his Master to send down a *Commission* to men of his own chooSing, to enquire into the Affair of *Glenco*; but withal, to give *secret Instructions* to his *Commissioner*, to keep up the said *Commission*, unless the *Parliament* should enter upon that business: And if they did, then to produce the said *Commission*, to shew his Majesty's *Innocence*, by his *Care* to have it Examined; and withal, it would take the Examination of it out of the hands of *Parliament Committees*, who might not manage so dextrously, as those of his own naming.

THINGS being thus stated, and the necessary Orders given, it is vilely suspected, that *Johnston* procured the Matter to be started in *Parliament*, whereby, at once, to get rid of his *Rival* Secretary, and Root up the interest of any, who had but an indifferency towards *Episcopacy* at *Court*; though to the utter *Shipwreck* of his *Masters* Honour, to be Recorded for all *Posterities* (as if it were inseparable from some Constitutions to *betray* those they serve, even though they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them.) For considering the influence *Johnston* hath in that *Parliament*, and that they have never yet opposed his Will in any thing; and that he has been able to suppress the least *murmur*, or *hint*, that looked towards *Glenco*, when the Fact was New

Committed; and the *horror* of it *fresh* and *bleeding*; and now for three years after: I say, It is not supposed by men who understand that Parliament, that it could have been brought upon the Stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the hand of *Joab* had not been in it: but let him look to that——I have only to add as a Completion of the following Narrative, that I can, from unquestionable Vouchers, give the Reader an Account of the Orders from Court to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, and Collonel *Hill*, which are not in the following Narrative; and when the Reader is told that *Hamilton* (whose Order to *Duncanson* is inserted) had his Order from *Levingston*, and Collonel *Hill*; Then he has the whole thread, *viz.* W. R's Order to *Levingston*, and *Hill*; *Levingston* and *Hill* to *Hamilton*; *Hamilton* to *Duncanson*; and *Duncanson* to *Glen-lyon*, who was the *Butcher*.

YOU find in the *Gazetts* Two set of *Instructions*, one of the 11*th*. the other of the 16*th*. *Jan*. 169½. and I will give you an Account of them both. Those of the 11*th*. did expresly Order Fire and Sword, [those were the words] against all the *High-Land-Clans*, who had not taken the *Oaths*. After they were sent away, my Lord *Carmarthen* (now *Leeds*) being told of it, by *Dalrymple* (as I am informed) did represent it to K. W. as a thing so unknown in these Countrys, which are Governed by *Laws*, That *Fire and Sword* would sound very harshly; no such words having ever been heard from any of our *Native* Kings. This procured the mitigation of that Order, by the *Instructions* of the 16*th*. which poured all the *Thunder* upon *Glenco*: Because some *Sacrifice* must be made! what concerned *Glenco* was in the 4*th*. of these *Instructions*, and is as follows.

WILLIAM R.

As for MAC-JAN *of* GLENCO, *and that* TRIBE, *if they can be well distinguished from the Rest of the High-Landers; It will be proper for the Vindication of Publick Justice, to* EXTIRPATE *that set of Thieves.*

W. R.

THIS was directed to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, and Collonel *Hill*. And the *Parliament* has voted, that *Levingston*, or *Hill*'s Orders did not exceed these *Instructions*; nor indeed could they: For what can exceed EXTIRPATION! and that to be Executed at

at the *diſcretion* of *Souldiers!* as it is worded in the *Secretary's* Letter to Sir *Thomas Levingſton.* a *I am confident* (ſayes he) *you will ſee there are full Powers given you in very plain Terms, and yet the method left very much to your own diſcretion.* a *Letter* v

TAKE notice that theſe *Inſtructions* are *Counter-ſign'd* W. R. at *Bottom*, as well as at *Top*; which is not uſual: For it is the *Secretary's* Office to *Counter-ſign* the *King's* Orders; and the Reaſon is, that if any thing be amiſs, the *Secretary* muſt be anſwerable. Therefore *Dalrymple* had reaſon to wave that Ceremony, in this Inſtance, and let his *Maſter* take all the Glory to himſelf. And leſt this ſhould not be ſufficiently taken Notice of; and that he might have a Voucher, when time comes, he took Care to inform Sir *Thomas Levingſton* punctually of it, in the ſame Letter, which Encloſed the firſt moſt Bloody Inſtructions, of the 11*th. Jan.* 169½. for an *Univerſal Maſſacre* of All, who had not taken the Oaths. And begins in theſe words: b *Sir, I ſend you the Kings Inſtructions ſuper and ſubſcrib'd by Himſelf.* And to ſhew how pleaſing a thing *Mercy* was to them, and with what reluctancy they Proſecuted thoſe who had not taken the Oaths, he ſayes, in the ſame Letter; *Juſt now* Argyle *tells me, That* Glenco *hath not taken the Oaths, at which* I Rejoyce. *It's a great work of* Charity *to be exact in Rooting out that Damnable Sect.* And to ſhew how great this *Charity* was, and whence it proceeded, The *Wiſe* Secretary Blurts out theſe words; *I have no great kindneſs for* Keppoch, *nor* Glenco, *and it's well theſe People are in mercy.* Well indeed! They were in *merciful* hands! Who can ſay they ought not to Dye, for whom ſuch a *Secretary* hath no GREAT *Kindneſs!* But who are they muſt dye? *ALL! ALL!* Man, Woman, and Child! *Maſſacre* the *men*, and Drive the *women* and *children* to Periſh, more Cruelly in the Mountains. To which purpoſe, that extream *Cold* Seaſon was choſen for the Execution. c *The Winter is the onely ſeaſon* (ſayes the Secretary) *in which we are ſure the* High-Landers *cannot eſcape us, nor carry their Wives, Bairns, and Cattle, to the Mountains.* d *It's the onely time that they cannot Eſcape you; for Humane Conſtitution cannot Endure to be long out of Houſes——This is the Proper Seaſon to maul them in the cold long Nights.* This was expreſſed with the *Guſto* of a *Vulture*, in expectation of a *Glorious Maſſacre!* And then how *eaſie* it would be! e *I expect* (ſayes he) *you will find little Reſiſtance but from the ſeaſon.* And then what thorough work they would make. b *Letter* v. c *Letter* i. d *Letter* ii. e *Letter* iv.

To

a Letter iii. a *To Destroy entirely the Country of* Lochaber, Lochells, Lauds, Keppoch's, Glengaries, Appin, and Glenco. Here was a Plentiful Feast provided! It was a Ravishing Prospect!

BUT O how these *Lyons* were Enraged when any of their desired Prey was delivered out of their Jaws. It was in a mournful strain the *Secretary* tells the sad News. b *We have an Account* (sayes he) *that* Lochart, *and* Mac-naghton, Appin, *and* Glenco *took the benefit of the Indemnity at* Inverary; *and* Keppoch, *and others at* Inverness: But after this, when *Argyle* told him that *Glenco* had not taken the *Oaths*; How did He *Rejoyce!* as above Quoted. c *I am glad* (sayes he) *that* Glenco *did not come in within the time Prescribed.* d *I am content that CLAN except it self.* e *For my part, I could have wish'd the* Mac-donalds *had not divided* (that is, That they had all excluded themselves from mercy) *and I am sorry that* Keppoch, *and* Mac-jan *of* Glenco *are safe.* But it seems they were not so safe. Some must be made a *Sacrifice*; And *Glenco* was pitched upon for the *Victim.* And the *Implacable Fury*, which was shewn against that *Clan*, expressed the Rage they felt, that so many had escaped them. And therefore that *Clan* was to be *destroyed entirely.* f *I assure you* (sayes the Secretary to his Officers) *your Powers shall be full enough, and I hope the Souldiers will not trouble the Government with Prisoners.* g *For a just Example of vengeance, I entreat that the Thieving Tribe in* Glenco *may be Rooted out in earnest.* h *I shall entreat you that for a just vengeance, and publick example, the Thieving Tribe of* Glenco *may be Rooted out to purpose. The Earl of* Argyle, *and* Broadalban *have promised they shall have no Retreat in their Bounds; the Passes to* Rannach *would be secured, and the Hazard certified to the Laird of———to Retreat: Then in that Case* Argyle's *Detachment, with a Party that may be Posted in* Island Stalker, *must cut them off.* i *Pray when any thing concerning* Glenco *is resolved, Let it be secret, and sudden, otherwise the Men will shift you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to Cut off that Nest of Robbers, who are fallen in the mercy of Law.* k *I am glad* Glenco *did not come in, within the time Prescribed. I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a Condition to draw together to help. I think to Herry their Cattle, or burn their Houses, is but to render them Desperate Lawless Men, to Rob their Neighbours: But I believe you will be satisfied it were a Great Advantage to the Nation, That that Thieving Tribe were Rooted out, and Cut off.. It must be Quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the Men, and their Cattle.*

b Letter iv.
c Letter ix.
d Letter i.
e Letter iv.
f Letter iii.
g Letter vi.
h Letter vii.
i Letter viii.
k Letter ix.

Argyles

Argile's *Detachment lyes in* Keppoch, *well, to assist the Garrison to do all* in a Sudden. Was ever so Greedy a Hunt after the Lives of a Company of *Secure* and *Un-arm'd* People, who slept fearless, and suspecting no danger, under the Protection of those who were thus Contriving to *Massacre* them, in the most *Savage*, and *Treacherous* manner!

The *Secretary* tells Collonel *Hill*, that [a] *The Oaths are indispensable.* This was a fearful Method of Imposing the Oaths upon these *High-Landers*, that none must live who would not take them! But were All admitted to take them? One would think so; when they were made *Indispensable.* Yet notwithstanding, in that same Letter, He gives these Directions to Collonel *Hill. Till we see what is done by the Chiefs, it is not time to Receive their Tenants*, or Admitting *them to take the Oaths, or hoping for pardon, 'till they give Evidence that they are willing to pay their Rents to you, and to take Tacks for their former Dutyes; who will not do so, and were in the Rebellion, must feel the dismal Consequences of it.* [a] *Letter* viii.

THUS *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him a Blasphemer! If the Tenants would betray the Rights of their Land-Lords to Atturn, and Pay their Rents to the *Secretary*, or his *Governour*, then, and not otherwise, They should be *Admitted* to take the *Oaths:* And yet they must not Live, if they did not take the *Oaths:* But *Glenco* took the *Oaths*; yet that saved not his *Life*, nor his *Clan.*

IT were reasonable here to presume that *K. W.* did not know that they had taken the *Oaths. First*, If it had been so. This manner of *Massacre*, in *Cold Blood* had been a *Cruelty* without Precedent. *Secondly*, It was taking Advantage of the Time, with the Greatest Rigour. For the Time limited by the *Indemnity* expired but the *1st.* of *January* 169½. And the *Instructions* for a *General Massacre* were dated the *11th.* of the same Month, at *London*, which was hardly time enough to know whether they had taken the *Oaths* or not. But *Thirdly*, Here is no Room left to surmise, that *K. W.* did not know it; Because Secretary *Dalrymple* (in his Letter to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, before Quoted, which is dated at *London* the *9th.* of *January*, 169½.) tells him, [b] That they had an Account that *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths*, at *Inverary*; which was the Place where he did take them, as you will see in the following Narrative. And he tells Sir *Thomas*, in the same Letter; *I have been with the King. He sayes your Instructions shall be dispatched on Monday.* And they were so. For that *Monday* was the *11th.* of *January* 169½. which [b] *Letter* iv.

day the *Instructions* do bear Date. And this Letter of the *Secretaryes*, was dated the 9*th*. of *January*. 169½. which was the *Saturday* before. And then he tells Sir *Thomas*, That he had the Account of *Glenco*'s having taken the *Oaths* with ſeveral others; and that he had been with the *King*, concerning it, and *Inſtructions* ſhould be ſent, *&c*. 'Tis true, his Letter of the 11*th*. which went with the *Inſtructions*, ſayes, [a] That *Argyle* told him *Glenco* had not taken the *Oaths*. But this was no more than *Hear-ſay*; and it was not true. For *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths* before that time; according to the Account which the *Secretary* owned was ſent to him. And *Argyle* was an *Enemy* to *Glenco*, as appears by what is above quoted out of Letter 7. But this ſaying of *Argyle*'s to the *Secretary* in *London*, could not be of *Argyle*'s own knowledge. And one would think that the *Secretary of State* ſhould have as good Intelligence as he.

[a] *Letter* V.

BUT, to make the moſt of it, this cou'd amount to no more than a *Doubt*. And to Suſpend his further Reſolution, 'till he might have the Certainty from *Scotland*. But they did not ſtay for this. For the particular Inſtructions to Maſſacre *Glencoe*, bore date the 16*th*. *January* 169½. betwixt which time and the 11*th*. when *Argile* told the *Secretary*, as above, They cou'd not ſend to *Scotland*, and have any Anſwer back. Now theſe Inſtructions of the 16*th*. were no ways *Conditional*. To Cut off *Glencoe*, if he had not taken the *Oaths*. But Poſitive, and without more adoe. When it is Certain that *K. W.* Muſt, at leaſt, *Doubt* whether he had taken the *Oaths*, or not. But it is Apparent that Collonel *Hill*, who had Given *Glencoe* his *Protection*, and to whom *Glencoe* came to take the *Oaths*; I ſay it is certain that He, and the other Officers there upon the Place, knew very well that *Glencoe* had taken the *Oaths*, and Submitted to the Government. Thoſe *Officers* whom He received into his Houſe, and Quarter'd their *Soldiers* among his *Tenants*, upon his Laying down his Arms; Theſe muſt know that He had *Submitted*. But if notwithſtanding They muſt Obey their Orders (as they did) If it be not Permitted to *Officers*, ſo much as *Reſcribere*, to acquaint the *King* with any miſtake may be in his *Orders*; but to Execute them Blindfold, and without Asking Queſtions, then let me lye out of the Reach of a *Soldier*.!

THE Reader muſt likewiſe know, that none of theſe Foreſaid *Inſtructions* were Communicated to the *Privy Council* of *Scotland*; to whom by the Conſtitution of that Kingdom, and Continual Cuſtom,

ſtom, all the King's Orders are directed. They knew nothing of this matter, It was contriv'd to be Carryed in ſuch a Manner, as not to be prevented. And when *Gallienus* his Thirſt of Blood is once Satisfy'd, then let *Slaves* Grumble, and make Inquiry! We know how to Manage them. *Johnſton* hath undertaken it. Nay he hath done it. *Done it!* More effectually than ever was heard, or I believe, *Imagined*, in theſe Nations, before this Happy *Revolution:* For here is a Precedent made, and that by *Parliament*, That the King may ſend his Guards, and Cut any Man's Throat in the Nation, in Cold Blood; Nay, He may Maſſacre the whole *Parliament*, as they are there Sitting, by the Rule that They have Given; That is, To Acquitt *Levingſton* and *Hill*; and to Juſtify them for purſueing the *King's Orders* to *Maſſacre* a whole *Clan*; which is no more *Juſt*, or *Law*, than to *Maſſacre* a *Parliament*.

LET us *Banter* the *World*, or Our ſelves no more with *Liberty*, and *Laws!* And when *Parliaments* can be brought to Approve, and Juſtify All this—— Well! *Johnſton!* Thou haſt Manag'd Nobly. Thou art fit to ſerve a *Monarch!* But not, unleſs You bring Your *Monarch* cleverly off in this Buſineſs; For what if you can place it upon *Dalrymple*; And if *Dalrymple* ſhould be Hang'd for Dareing to *ſend* ſuch An Order, tho' He refuſed to *Counter-Sign* it, What will become of *Him*, who both *Sign'd* it, and *Counter-Sign'd* it, and Commanded it to be *Sent?*

If the Man ſuch Praiſes have,
What muſt be He Employes the——?

WHY did his *Maſter* never Inquire into this Matter before? Never before the *Parliament* Clamoured? And what was the meaning of a Commiſſion to Examine into what himſelf had Ordered—— But *Mes James!*——And have you e'en brought your *Maſter* into this Nooſe! what can you expect from him, but to be *Glen-Coed* for your pains? *Qui* Glencoat, Glencoabitur.——You have brought all his ſins to remembrance. The *Dewitting* in *Holland* was almoſt forgot.—You have pretty good Experience of his Temper, or you may have. But if he ſuffer you to live to ſee another *Revolution*, you may Plead *Merit:* For all his Enemies have not rendered him ſo *Black*; ſo effectually *Proved*, and *Demonſtrated* it to the World, as your Management has done. *He is happy in his Miniſters!* at leaſt very *juſtly* ſerved by them.

HE wants but a good *Hiſtorian*, that he may not loſe his *Character* to after Ages. And *Secretary*, you cannot do better than to recommend your *Uncle* to that Office. He'll do it *Deliciouſly*; he'll either *find* or *make* Parallels to him out of *Ancient Hiſtories* (for he'll find none among the *Modern*, eſpecially in theſe *Countries*.) And make him (I'll warrant you) Excel them all. And among the reſt, I would recommend one to him, that fits the preſent Caſe ſo exactly, that you would think one was Copyed out of the other, and it is as follows.

'*Gallienus*, ut erat *Nequam* & *Perditus*; ita etiam, ubi neceſſitas 'coegiſſet, *velox*, *furibundus*, *ferus*, *vehemens*, *Crudelis*——in omnes '*Maſſacos* tam *Milites* quam *Cives* aſperime Sævijt: Nec quem-'quam ſuæ Crudelitatis exortem reliquit: Uſque adeo *aſper* & '*Truculentus* ut pleraſq; Civitates vacuas a virili ſexu relinqueret.

'Extat ſane Epiſtola *Gallieni* quam ad *Celerem Verianum* Scrip-'ſit, quâ ejus Nimietas crudelitatis oſtenditur: quam Ego idcirco 'interpoſui, ut omnes intelligerent, hominem Luxurioſum cru-'deliſſimum eſſe, ſi neceſſitas Poſtulet.

Gallienus Veriano. *Non mihi ſatisfacies, ſi tantum* Armatos *occideris, quos & fors Belli interimere potuiſſet. Perimendus eſt* omnis ſexus Virilis, *ſi & ſenes atq*; Impuberes *ſine Reprehenſione noſtra occidi poſſent. Occidendus eſt quicunq*; *malevoluit. Occidendus eſt quicumq*; *male dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot Principum Patrem & Fratrem. Ingenuus factus eſt Imperator.* Lacera Occide, concide: *Animum meum intelligere potes, mea mente Iraſcere qui hæc manu mea ſcripſi.* Trebell. Pollion. *Trigint. Tyran. de Ingenuo.*

THIS is the Deſcription of *Gallienus*, a *Cruel* and a *Bloody Tyrant*: And here is the Copy of ſome *Inſtructions* he ſent to *Verianus*, an Officer of his, about juſt ſuch another *Maſſacre* as *Glencoe*, which he Wrote, or *Sign'd* with his own Hand: Wherein he Commands him, to put All to the Sword, All that durſt *Speak* or *Think* againſt him, as well *Old* as *Young*; He bid him *Plunder*, *Kill*, *Tear*; and that it would not pleaſe him if he Killed only thoſe in *Arms* againſt him, but All of the *Maſculine* Sex.

HERE was a Great deal of Do, and many Words about it! But our Milder Order, bid only **Extirpate**, and that not this or that Body, or makeing Diſtinctions of *Old* or *Young*, *Men* or *Women*—— What need all that Cookery! But only *The Whole* **Tribe**. *That was all!* He Scorn'd to *Except* the pitiful *Women*, as *Gallienus* did.

What

466. 7.

What need *they* be *Excepted?* Why! He Excepted No Body! Short Work's best——— and Few Words——— And as the *Answer* to Great *Britains Just Complaint*, Published by Authority, 1692. Sayes *p.* 37. in Vindication of *W. R.* as to this of *Glenco*. *A milder Order was never given.* And he says that his Majesty *has Expres's'd a High displeasure at it.* It was *High* indeed: For we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see: For all the Officers who *Commaded*, or who *Executed* it, are still in their Respective Posts, unless Advanced. Nor have we heard that so much as an *ill Word* has been said by Him to any one of them.

BUT this we know, by that *Answer* to Great *Britains Just Complaint*, that *W. R.* cannot plead Ignorance, that there was a great Clamour about the Massacre of Glencoe, *three Years ago:* And that He has taken no Notice of it all this time; nor *Now*, till it was first Started in *Parliament*; And that then, what he did, was, as much as he could, to take it out of the hands of the *Parliament*, and by all his might and main, to *shuffle*, at least to *baffle* it. And that it has been *Baffled.* And this horrible addition is thereby made to the Guilt of that *Murther*; That whereas none were answerable for it before, except only *Gallienus* and his *Verianus*'s, with their accomplices,, it is now become a *National* Guilt (so far as the *Parliament* are the *Representatives* of the *People*) by the *Parliament*'s making Gallienus's *Instructions* sufficient to *justify* Verianus in his Execution of them. Whereby they *justify* the whole *murder*, and bring it upon their own *heads*, and upon the *Heads* of their *Children.* For if *Gallienus* had no Power by *Law*, to send such *Instructions*, they could be no *Justification* to *Verianus:* But now *That Parliament* has Voted that such *Instructions* are a *Justification* of *Verianus*; and therefore they have yeilded that *Gallienus* has, by *Law*, a *Power* to send such *Instructions.* And that they, ought to be *Obey'd.* And then. *Lord have mercy upon us!*

NOR has our *Parliament* in *England* been behind that of *Scotland* in Sacrificeing our *Laws*, *Lives*, and *Liberties* to an *Arbitrary* and *Despotick* Power; and that not only to *Orders* Signed by *Gallienus* himself, but by *Verianus*, of his own head. Making us Double Distilled *Vassals*; *Slaves* of *Slaves!*

AND the instance which (among many others) I have to give of this, Exceeds even that of *Glenco*, in its having less pretence, and acted with the greater face of *Authority*, and *Solemnity.* I mean

 the

the *Prodigious unprecedented* manner of the *murther* of *Gaffney* in *Ireland* by the Command of the Lord *Coningsby*; For which he was impeached before the *House of Commons* in *England*, by *Protestants* of *Ireland*, Gentlemen of *Quality* and *Estates*; and of *publick* and *generous* Spirits; whose noble Resentment to see their *Laws* so vilely trampled under foot by those whom they had invited thither to protect them, brought them hither in person, to demand justice from our *House of Commons*, against *Coningsby*, who was one of their *Members*. And that there could be nothing of Revenge in the Case, in behalf of the Person who was Murthered, it's notorious; that *Gaffney* being a poor Fellow, a servant to *Sweetman* (hereafter mentioned) and wholly unknown, I believe, to every one of the *Gentlemen* who prosecuted *Coningsby*; Besides, He was a *Roman Catholick*, and one of the *Native Irish*, upon both of which Accounts he could have the less share of Interest with the *British*, and *Irish Protestants*, who were then not wholly come out of a most Bloody War against them; for *Limerick* as yet held out. And therefore these worthy *Patriots*, who came over from *Ireland* hither to Prosecute *Coningsby*, could have no other Incitement, but Love of their Country, and the Preservation of the *Laws*: But the Return they had, after a long and Expensive attendance, as it was *mortifying* to themselves, and sadly *instructive* to others, will remain an Instance of *Arbitrary Government* not to be equalled in *former* Ages, nor easily credible to the *future*. The Story, one would think should not need being told in *England*, because it was brought upon the Stage, before the *House of Commons*, and is in their *Printed Votes*.

YET, all that, is not, it seems, sufficient to Publish it, at this time; not one in twenty of some sort of People that I meet with, having ever heard of it, or have forgot it. And (as I have told of the story of *Glenco*) they call it a *Jacobite* invention; and will hear no more of it.

I will therefore present the Reader with the very Words of the *Article* concerning *Gaffney*, which (with several others of other instances of *High Arbitrary Government*) was exhibited by the Earl of *Ballimont*, and other *Protestants* of *Ireland*, against the Lords *Justices* of *Ireland* (*viz.* The said Lord *Coningsby*, and Sir *Charles Porter*, both *Members* of the *House of Commons*) before the *House of Commons* in the Winter Session 1693. The *Article* concerning *Gaffney* is the *4th.* and follows in these words.

That

That the Lords Juſtices did, in Council, by word of mouth, Order one Gaffney *to be Hanged, without Tryal, the Courts of Juſtice being then open, and who was at that time an Evidence againſt one* Sweetman, *for the murther of Collonel* Foulk's *ſouldiers: But the ſaid* Sweetman *(giving all his real Eſtate to the value of about* 200 l. per Annum, *to Mr. Culliford, beſides the ſumm of about* 500 l. *to Mr.* Fielding, *the ſaid Lords Juſtices Secretary, for being his Bayl) was never proſecuted for the ſaid murther; and the ſaid* Gaffney *was immediately Executed, according to the ſaid verbal Order.*

NOW the Reader muſt know that every Tittle of the ſaid Charge was proved fully, and paſt all Contradiction. Captain *Fitz-Gerald*, who is a Member of the *Privy Council* in *Ireland*, Declared that he was then ſitting at the Board; and that the Council were not adviſed with at all in it. That *Sweetman*'s Eſtate, valued at 3000 l. was offered to him [Captain *Fitz-Gerald*] on Condition that he would make intereſt to Save *Sweetman*'s Life. That Lord *Coningsby*, who gave the Orders for Executing of *Gaffney*, was in ſo great haſte to have him diſpatched out of the way (for he was an Evidence againſt *Sweetman*) That he ordered a *Provo*, inſtead of any *Legal* Officer, to be Call'd in to the *Council-Chamber* where *Gaffney* was Examin'd: And after having asked *Gaffney* three or four Queſtions, and that he poſitively denied his having any Acceſſion to the ſaid murther; commanded the *Provo* to take him out, and hang Him up Immediately: And the *Provo* making Anſwer, That it would take ſome time to make a Gallows; *Coningsby* anſwered ſharply, *Hang him upon the Carriage of a Gun*, which was *done* Immediately.

OF all this *Coningsby* could not deny One word before the *Houſe of Commons*: And all he ſaid in his own Vindication was, *That if he had not hang'd* Gaffney *ſo, he could not have hang'd him at all.* Which was true: For there was no Evidence againſt him, and therefore They would give him no *Tryal*. But why muſt *Gaffney* then be Hanged? Becauſe, forſooth! Some Officers in the Army would have ſome body Hanged for the murther of *Foulk*'s Souldiers: And *Sweetman* (in whoſe Backſide the Souldiers were buried, and their Coats found in his Houſe) had given 500 *l.* to the Lords Juſtices *Secretary*, and his *Eſtate* to another man in Power: But *Gaffney* was a *Poor Rogue*, and had nothing to give, and therefore it was fit he ſhould be hanged. And Hang'd *as he was*, or *not at all.* As Coningsby *honeſtly*, but *Impudently* Confeſſed.

BUT now comes the Aſtoniſhing Wonder. After all theſe things ſo plainly *Proved* and *Confeſſed*, that the *Houſe of Commons* could not frame any manner of excuſe for *Coningsby*; but were forced to Vote the *Execution of* Gaffney *without Tryal, to be* Arbitrary *and* Illegal; *Yet that*, conſidering the ſtate of Affairs, *They did not think fit to ground an Impeachment againſt the Lord* Conningsby *for the ſame.* This is in the Printed Votes of the 29*th.* of *January*, 1693. And it is an *Original.* What! Vote a Man *guilty*, and yet that he ſhall not be *proſecuted!* Why pray? Becauſe of the *ſtate of Affairs.* This is very *general:* And ſuch a *pretence* will never be wanting. But what was this *State of Affairs*, at that time? It was in the Winter 1690. When all *Ireland*, except only *Limerick*, was in the Obedience of *K. W.* when the *Courts of Juſtice* were open (as in the 'boveſaid *Article* againſt *Conningsby* is expreſſed) and the *Lords Juſtices*, and *Council* ſitting in *Peace* and *Grandeur* in *Dublin.* And what was it then *con'd* or *ought* to have hindred giving that *Poor Fellow a fair Tryall?* Other Criminals were then Tryed, in the uſual form, and why not *Gaffney?* How came the *State of Affairs* to reach him, more than any other? Unleſs you will ſay, that it did reach to many others: For it is Expreſſed in the printed *Addreſs* of the *Lords* Preſented to *K. W.* 9. March 1692. That not only *Gaffney*, but *ſeveral others* were Executed, without any *Tryal* whatſoever; And that there were *Exorbitant Abuſes, great miſmanagement, and many Arbitrary and Illegal Proceedings there, within theſe Four Years laſt paſt, as well ſince the determination of the War, as before,* which includes the whole Government ſince the *Revolution*, as well dureing the Adminiſtration of *Gallienus* in Perſon, while he was *there*, as of his ſeveral *Verianus*'s in his Abſence. One of whom did, in *Almanzor* ſtrain, ſet up the *High Prerogative*, and *Hector* their *Parliament* in a manner unknown to former Ages: And without Precedent from any *Lawful King* that ever Sate upon the *Engliſh Throne in that Kingdom.* Which they have given us an Account of in Print; to try whether there was ſo much of the Spirit of *Engliſh Liberty* left in an *Engliſh Parliament* as to Vindicate their own *Privileges*, in that Breach which was made upon them, thro' the ſides of the *Parliament* in *Ireland*, a *Province* of their Own, and may be reckoned a Branch of the *Engliſh Empire.* But all in Vain! They had drunk ſo deep in the Cup of *Slavery* at *Home*, that they could take no notice of it *Abroad.* They have ſtopt their Ears cloſe againſt all Charmers upon that Subject, *Charm they never ſo wiſely.*

wisely. They Call their *Slavery* **Liberty**! And where then is the *Remedy*!

THUS poor *Ireland* was left without all hopes of Redress, to feed upon the Melancholly Reflection; that their *Liberties* have been much more notoriously violated by their *Deliverers*, than by all the instances which were so much as alledged against their *Lawful King*; And thence to learn, for the future, how much *Rebellion* is a worse *Remedy*, than the *Disease* of *Tyranny* (even when it is not made a pretence) and that it alwayes Ends in a *Heavyer Tyranny*: Because there must go more *force* to keep under *New Acquisitions*, than Old *Hereditary Rights*. And if all the *Sacred Bonds* of *Natural Allegiance*, Fortified with the *Religious Sanction* of *Oaths*, and Taught and Inculcated upon Us, from our Infancy, as a Condition indispensable to our *Salvation*; if all this, and all the *Honour* and *Reputation* which the World has justly affixed to *Loyalty*, with the *Horror*, and Eternal *Stain*, upon the Name and Memory of *Traytors* and *Rebells*, and all the *Terrors* of the *Laws* against *Treason*. If *none* (I say) Nor *all*, of these Considerations, have weight enough to keep us in our *Obedience*, to those whom *God*, and the *Constitution* of our *Country*, have plac'd over Us, by a *Divine* as well as a *Legal* Right: How should an *Usurper* secure our *Duty*; who has none of these Tyes, on his side; But All, and Every One of them against Him; How should, How can He do it, but by Corrupting our *Representatives* in *Parliament*, so as to pass all his Arbitrary Designs upon Us, in their Names; and when that fayles him, by *open Force*? How otherwise can an *Usurper* secure himself? How otherwise has any one of them ever yet secured himself? Have we forgot Our late *Deliverers* in *Forty One*? Will no Experience serve to make us wise! No. Not when the time of our Destruction is Come! We shall then, as the *Jews* did before their Final Destruction by the *Romans*, we do now as they did then, Obstinately refuse all Offers of Mercy, for our *Rebellion*; And continue to provoke a *Power*; which we know too *Strong* for Us; And which we Confess, must, without a *Miracle*, be our Ruin: Yet we Run on, trusting only to our *Dispair*! And we have not only Delivered up our *Mony* and *Lives*, without Account; but what used to be Dearer to *English Men*, **The Honour of England**! Of which take this short Instance instead of many more.

THE *House of Lords* made (and printed) an *Addreſs*, dated the 18*th.* of *February* 1692. Wherein They mind *their* King of the Capitulation made in the Year 1678. by which it was agreed, *That the* Engliſh *Commander and Officer, in every Degree is to Command any other Confederate Officer of the ſame Rank, (except thoſe of Crowned Heads) without any regard to the Date of their reſpective Commiſſions. And that the Contrary practiſe in this laſt War, was to the diminution of the Honour that belongeth to the Crown of* England, *and to the general diſſatisfaction of his Majeſty's Subjects. And deſire, That the Chief Commander of the* Engliſh *Forces under his Majeſty, ſhould be a Subject born in his Majeſty's Dominions: That no* Forreigner *ſhould be of the Board of Ordnance, or Keeper of the Stores in the Tower of* London: *That, for the Encouragement of the* Engliſh, *there ſhould not be ſo many* Strangers *Employed in the Office of the Ordnance. That there hath been many abuſes under pretence of Preſſing men for the Fleet: And therefore They humbly Advice, That the Offenders ſhould be immediately Caſhier'd, and Proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour of the Law.*

HIS *Gracious* Anſwer was, *That He would conſider of it.* And we may ſuppoſe, that he is conſidering of it ſtill: For he hath not perform'd one word of it; But on the Contrary, to ſhew the regard he has for all the *Peers* of *England*; And for the *Honour* of *England*; He has acted quite contrary to this *Addreſs*, more ſince, than before: For not onely Abroad, in *Flanders*, and in *Savoy*, are the *Engliſh* every where under *Forreign Commanders in Chief:* But, to uſe them as they deſerve, He has now, this laſt time, made a *Forreigner* [Schomberge] *Commander in Chief* of all the Forces left in *England.* Let the *Lords* Addreſs again! They would, if they were *Engliſh Men!* or if he were an *Hereditary King!* But ſome will bear more *Inſults* from a *Miſtreſs* than a *Wife.* And a *King* of *our Own making*, Coſts us more than *twenty* of *God*'s ſending. We think our ſelves bound to Acquieſce in *our own Act and Deed!*

IF any of the *Curſed* and *Rebel* **Parliaments** could have found a *Gaffney* or *Glenco* againſt King *Charles* the I*ſt.* or any of his *Sons*, what a Noiſe would they have made! How had all the World been filled with *Apologies* and *Remonſtrances!* What a Diſmal *Idea* would have been Raiſed of *Tyranny* and *Arbitrary* Govern-

Government! In the former Raigns, how was the Nation Allarm'd with what was *Whiſpered*; and not *Whiſpered*, or ever ſo much as *thought* of, in the King's *Bed-Chamber*; in his *Cloſet!* of *Secret Leagues*, and *private Aſſaſſinations* of Men that put hand on themſelves; where there was not the leaſt Umbrage or Colour of Pretence! How Induſtrious was it ſpread, and Imbib'd by the *Mobb* of this Nation, That K. *Charles* the II*d.* and the Earl of *Eſſex* were both *murthered* by the Procurement of one they had a mind to Blacken! And Forty *Proteſtant* Witneſſes of the Greateſt *Quality* and *Reputation*, were not ſufficient to make them Believe a P. of *Wales*; Tho' not one Man, or Woman in the Nation ever *Depos'd* any thing to the Contrary: Nor was there any other Argument againſt it, beſides a few *Drunken Songs*. But that was enough, becauſe it was againſt a *Lawful King!* And on the other hand, tho' they ſee their Fellow Subjects *Gaffney'd* and *Glenco'd* before their Faces; Tho' it be Printed in the *Gazetts*, and Publick *Votes* of the *Houſe of Commons*; and that the *Houſe of Lords* Print their *Addreſſes*, contrary to their uſual Cuſtom, on purpoſe to let the Nation ſee—Yet they will not ſee. No. All this is not now ſufficient to imprint it one half hour in their Memories, after Reading of the Publick Papers; They neglect it, They forget it, as not concerning them! *Non Perſuadebis, etiamſi Perſuaſeris*, is their Reſolution. And *Quos Perdere vult Jupiter, Dementat*, I wiſh may not be their *Fate*.

BUT to bring our Story to an End: There is One Nob'e Stroke of Secretary *Johnſton*'s behind, Whereby he thinks he has wiped his *Maſter* clean, from all imputation of the Maſſacre of *Glenco*; And that is, He has perſwaded Lieutenant Collonel *Hamilton* (whoſe Order to *Duncanſon* is in the following Narrative) to *Abſcond*, for ſome time; and then to ſlip over to *K. W.* in *Flanders*; which he has done. This ſhews as if he were more Guilty than the reſt. He is made the *ſcape-Goat*, and all this Sin laid upon his Head. But if *Hill* gave his Orders to his Lieutenant Collonel *Hamilton* (which he Averrs in his Order to *Duncanſon*) Why was it more Criminal in *Hamilton* to hand down his *Collonels* Orders to the next Subaltern?

AND why must *Glen-Lyon*, and the others who actually Committed that *Horrid Massacre*, and are now in their Respective Commands in *Flanders*, Why should these be Excused?

O! No! They are not excused, for as in the *Gazette* 18*th. July* 1695. The *Parliament* in *Scotland* has made a fierce *Vote* against them. viz. *That his Majesty be Addressed to send them home to be Prosecuted for the same,* or Not. *As his Majesty shall think fit.*——— Or Not! This is as *Civil* as Heart could wish! And whether this *Address* was sent, or Not; whether it was trusted to *Secretary Johnston* to send it, or Not, is all One: For instead of sending them Home to be Tryed, *Hamilton* is sent to them; And in Justice We are to suppose that Due Care will be taken, that in this Campaign, They shall either be *Killed*, *Taken*, or *Desert*. And then if we had them again, How we would Hang the Rogues!

BUT our *English Parliament* was much more *Complaysant* to their *Verianus*'s; they did not put them to the trouble so much as of a *Sham Absconding* for a little time; No, nor of suffering the least *Disgrace* for their more *Solemn* and *Judicial Murther*: But Commanded them to take their Places again in their *Senate-House*; Thus doing them *Honour*, For their Noble Breach of our *Laws*; And signifying to the *Nation* what *Qualifications* are Expected in those whom they Choose to *Represent* them; and in whose hands they have Deposited the *Absolute* and *Un-Accountable* Disposal of their *Estates*, *Lives*, and *Liberties!* At least, it is so understood. And the *Silence* of the *People*, in this Case, is taken for *Consent*.

A LETTER

A LETTER from a Gentleman in SCOTLAND *to his Friend at* LONDON, *who desired a Particular Account of the Business of* GLENCO.

Edinburgh, *April* 20th 1692.

SIR,

THE Account you desired of that strange and surprizing Massacre of *Glenco*, take as follows.

Mac-jan Mac-donald, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the *Mack-donalds*, one of the greatest Clans (or Tribes) in the North of *Scotland*, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan to Collonel *Hill*, Governour of *Fort-William* at *Inverlochy*, some few days before the expiring of the time for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which as I take it, was the *1st.* of *January* last, entreating he would administer unto him the *Oaths* which the foresaid Proclamation required to be taken; that so submitting himself to the Government, he might have its Protection. The Collonel received him with all Expressions of Kindness; nevertheless shifted the administring the *Oaths* to him, alledging, that by the Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sherriffs, Bailyffs of Regalities, and Magistrates of Burghs, to administer them. *Mac-jan* complaining that by this Disappointment he might be wronged, the time being now near the expiring, and the Weather so extreme, and the ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sherriff, *&c.* got from Collonel *Hill*, under his Hand, his Protection; and withal he was assured, that no Orders from the Government against him should be put in Execution, until he were first advertised, and had time allow'd him to apply himself to King or Council for his own Safety. But the better to make all sure, (though this might have seemed Security enough for that time) with all dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*, the Chief Town of *Argileshire*, there he found Sir *Collin Campbel* of *Ardkinlis*, Sherriff of that Shire, and crav'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing

to perform all the Conditions requir'd. Sir *Collin* at firſt ſcrupled to admit him to the Oaths, the time which the Proclamation did appoint being elapſed by one day, alledging it would be of no uſe to him then to take them: But *Mac-jan* repreſented that it was not his fault, he having come in time enough to Collonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have adminiſtred the Oaths to him, and that upon his refuſal he had made ſuch haſte to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the extremity of the Weather hinder'd him; and even as it was, he was but one day after the Time appointed, and that would be very unbecoming the Government to take advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, eſpecially when he had done his utmoſt to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatning to proteſt againſt the Sherriff for the ſeverity of this Uſage, he adminiſtred to him and his Attendants the Oaths, *Mac-jan* depending upon the Indemnity granted to thoſe who ſhould take them; and having ſo done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the day of his Death.

In *January* laſt, a Party of the Earl of *Argile*'s Regiment came to that Countrey, the Deſign of their coming was then ſuſpected to be to take courſe with thoſe who ſhould ſtand out, and not ſubmit, and take the Oaths. The Gariſon of *Inverlochy* being throng'd, and *Glenco* being commodious for Quartering, as being near that Gariſon, thoſe Soldiers were ſent thither to Quarter; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Ceſs and Hearth-Mony, (a Tax never known in *Scotland*, until laid on by the Parliament, 1690, after the Parliament of *England* had eaſed themſelves of it;) e'er they entred *Glenco*, that Laird, or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends, or as Enemies? The Officers anſwered, as Friends; and gave their Paroll of Honour, that they would do neither him nor his Concerns any harm; upon which he welcom'd them, promiſing them the beſt Entertainment the Place could afford. This he really performed, as all the Soldiers confeſs. He and they lived together in mutual Kindneſs and Friendſhip fifteen days, or thereabout; ſo far was he from fearing any Hurt from them. And the very laſt Day of his Life he ſpent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Capt. *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, playing at Cards with him till 6 or 7 at Night, and at their parting

ing mutual Proteſtations of Kindneſs were renewed. Some time that very day, but whether before or after their parting, I know not, Capt. *Campbell* had theſe Orders ſent him from Major *Duncanſon*, a Copy whereof I here ſend you.

Ballacholis, *Febr.* 12. 1692.

SIR,

YOU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels the Mac Donalds *of* Glenco, *and put all to the Sword under* 70. *You are to have eſpecial Care, that the Old Fox and his Sons do upon no account eſcape your Hands; You are to ſecure all the Avenues, that no Man eſcape: This you are to put in Execution at five a Clock in the Morning preciſely, and by that time, or very ſhortly after it, I'll ſtrive to be at you with a ſtronger Party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on.* This is by the King's SPECIAL COMMAND, *for the Good and Safety of the Countrey, that theſe Miſcreants may be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put in execution without Feud or Favour, elſe you may expect to be treated as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry Commiſſion in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love your ſelf. I ſubſcribe theſe with my Hand,*

Robert Duncanſon.

For Their Majeſties Service, to Capt. Robert Campbell *of* Glenlyon.

Duncanſon had received Orders from Lieutenant Collonel *Hamilton*, which were as follows.

Ballacholis, *Febr.* 12. 1692.

SIR,

PER Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Collonel's Orders to me, for putting in execution the Service commanded againſt the Rebels in Glenco, *wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment under your Command are to be concern'd: You are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs ſo, as that the ſeveral Poſts already aſſigned*

assigned you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely by five a Clock to morrow Morning, being Saturday ; *at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this Regiment for the other places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the South side, that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are that none be spared, from 70. of the Sword, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners. This is all, until I see you. From*

Your humble Servant,

James Hamilton.

Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry, and the Boats there ; and the Boats must be all on this side the Ferry, after your Men are over.

For Their Majesties Service, for Major Robert Duncanson, *of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment.*

THE Soldiers being disposed five or three in a House, according to the number of the Family they were to assassinate, had their orders given them secretly. They had been all receiv'd as Friends by those poor People, who intending no Evil themselves, little suspected that their Guests were designed to be their Murtherers. At 5 a Clock in the Morning they began their bloody Work, surprised and butchered 38. persons, who had kindly received them under their Roofs. *Mac-jan* himself was murthered, and is much bemoan'd; he was a stately well-favoured Man, and of good Courage and Sense: As also the Laird *Archintrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and Understanding, who had submitted to the Government, and had Collonel *Hill*'s Protection in his Pocket, which he had got three Months before. I cannot without horror represent how that a Boy about Eight Years of Age was murthered; he seeing what was done to others in the House with him, in a terrible Fright run out of the House, and espying Capt. *Campbell*, grasped him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his Life. I am inform'd Capt. *Campbell* inclined to spare him,

him, but one *Drummond*, an Officer, barbarously run his Dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The rehearsal of several Particulars and Circumstances of this tragical Story, makes it appear most doleful; as that *Mac-jan* was kill'd as he was drawing on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, and giving orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murthered him; while he was speaking the words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Ladies Arms, who thro' the grief of this, and other bad Usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor People were kill'd when they were asleep, and none was allowed to pray to God for Mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that Night was most boisterous; so as a Party of 400 Men, who should have come to the other end of the *Glen*, and begun the like Work there at the same hour, (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be enclosed, and none of them escape) could not march that length, until it was Nine a Clock, and this afforded to many an opportunity of escaping, and none were kill'd but those in whose Houses *Cambell* of *Glenlyon*'s Men were Quartered, otherwise all the Male under 70 Years of Age, to the number of 200, had been cut off, for that was the order; and it might have easily been executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had no Arms at that time; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed them all out of the way: For tho' they rely'd on the Promises which were made them for their Safety; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarm'd. I know not whether to impute it to difficulty of distinguishing the difference of a few Years, or to the Fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with Blood, stand at nothing, that even some above Seventy Years of Age were destroyed. They set all the Houses on Fire, drove off all the Cattle to the Garison of *Inverlochy*, *viz.* 900 Cows, 200 Horses, and a great many Sheep and Goats, and there they were divided among the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the Case of the poor Women and Children was then! It was lamentable, past expression; their Husbands and Fathers, and neerest Relations were forced to flee for their Lives; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their Houses being burnt, and not one House nearer than six Miles;

and to get thither they were to paſs over Mountains, and Wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein the greateſt part of them periſhed through Hunger and Cold. It fills me with horror to think of poor ſtript Children, and Women, ſome with Child, and ſome giving Suck, wreſtling againſt a Storm in Mountains, and heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and die miſerably.

You ſee in *Hamilton*'s Order to *Duncanſon*, there's a ſpecial Caution, *that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs ſhould eſcape*; and in *Duncanſon*'s Order to Capt. *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, *that the old Fox, nor none of his Sons eſcape*; but notwithſtanding all this wicked Caution, it pleaſed God that the two young Gentlemen, *Macjan*'s Sons eſcaped: For it happened that the younger of theſe Gentlemen truſted little to the fair Promiſes of *Cambell*, and had a more watchful Eye over him than his Father or Brother, who ſuffered themſelves by his reiterated Oaths to be deluded into a Belief of his Integrity: He having a ſtrong Impreſſion on his Spirit, that ſome miſchievous Deſign was hidden under *Cambell*'s ſpecious Pretences, it made him, after the reſt were in Bed, remain in a retired Corner, where he had an advantageous proſpect into their Guard. About midnight perceiving ſeveral Soldiers to enter it, this encreaſed his Jealouſie; ſo he went and communicated his Fears to his Brother, who could not for a long time be perſuaded there was any bad Deſign againſt them, and aſſerted, that what he had ſeen was not a doubling of their Guards in order to any ill deſign, but that being in a ſtrange place, and at a diſtance from the Garriſon, they were to ſend out Sentinels far from the Guard, and becauſe of the Extremity of the Weather relieved them often, and that the Men he ſaw could be no more but theſe. Yet he preſiſting to ſay, that they were not ſo ſecure, but that it was fit to acquaint their Father with what he had ſeen, he prevailed with his Brother to riſe, and go with him to his Father, who lay in a room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the younger Son alledged made no great Impreſſion on his Father, yet he allowed his Sons to try what they could diſcover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and hid themſelves near to a Sentinel's Poſt, where inſtead of one they diſcovered eight or ten Men; this made them more inquiſitive, ſo they crept as near as

as they could without being discovered, so near that they could hear one say to his Fellows, that *he liked not this Work, and that had he known of it he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none, except their Commanders, knew of it till within a quarter of an hour.* The Soldier added, that he was willing to fight against the Men of the *Glen*, but it was base to murder them: But to all this was answered, *All the blame be on such as gave the Orders; we are free, being bound to obey our officers.* Upon hearing of these words the young Gentlemen retired as quickly and quietly as they could towards the House, to inform their Father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it surrounded, and heard Guns discharged, and the People shrieking; whereupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to rescue their Father, they preserved their own Lives in hopes yet to serve their King and Country, and see Justice done upon those Hell-hounds, treacherous Murtherers, the Shame of their Country and Disgrace of Mankind.

I must not forget to tell you, that there were two of these Officers who had given their Paroll of Honour to *Mac-jan*, who refused to be concerned in that brutal Tragedy, for which they were sent Prisoners to *Glascow*, where if they remain not still, I am sure they were some Weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your Commands I have sent you such account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman Massacre of the Laird of *Glenco*, and others of his *Clan*. You desire some Proofs of the Truth of the Story; for you say there are many in *England* who cannot believe such a thing could be done, and publick Justice not executed upon the Ruffians: For they take it for granted, that no such Order could be given by the Government; and you say they will never believe it without a downright Demonstration. Sir, As to the Government; I will not meddle with it, or whether these Officers who murdered *Glenco*, had such Orders as they pretended from the Government; the Government knows that best, and how to vindicate their own Honour, and punish the Murtherers who pretended their Authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the Matter of Fact of the Murther of *Glenco*, you may depend upon it, as certain and undeniable: It would be thought as strange a thing

thing in *Scotland* for any Man to doubt of it, as of the Death of my Lord *Dundee*, or with you that the Duke of *Monmouth* loſt his Head. But to Put you out of all doubt, you will e'er long have my Ld. *Argyle's* Regiment with you in *London*, and there you may ſpeak with *Glenlyon* himſelf, with *Drummond* and the reſt of the Actors in that diſmal Tragedy; and on my Life, there is never a one of them will deny it to you; for they know that it is notoriouſly known all over *Scotland*, and it is an admiration to us that there ſhould be any one in *England* who makes the leaſt doubt of it. Nay, *Glenlyon* is ſo far from denying it, that he brags of it, and juſtifies the Action publickly: He ſaid in the Royal Coffee-houſe in *Edinburgh*, that he would do it again; nay, that he would ſtab any Man in *Scotland* or in *England*, without asking the cauſe, if the King gave him orders, and that it was every good Subject's duty ſo to do; and I am credibly informed, that *Glenlyon* and the reſt of them have addreſs'd themſelves to the Council for a Reward for their good Service, in deſtroying *Glenco* purſuant to their Orders.

There is enough of this mournful ſubject: If what I have ſaid ſatifie you not, you may have what Proof, and in what manner ye pleaſe to ask it.

Sir,

Your humble Servant, &c.

N. B. That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was ſent, did on *Thurſday June* 30. 1692. when the Ld. *Argyle's* Regiment was quartered at *Brentford*, go thither, and had this Story of the Maſſacre of *Glenco* from the very Men whowere the Actors in it: *Glenlyon* and *Drummond* were both there. The Highlander who told him the Story, expreſſing the Guilt which was viſible in *Glenlyon*, ſaid, Glenco *hangs about* Glenlyon *Night and Day, and you may ſee him in his Face.* I am told likewiſe that Sr. *John Lowther* refuſed to accept of the Place of Ld. Advocate of *Scotland*, unleſs he might have liberty to proſecute *Glenlyon*, and the reſt of the Murtherers of *Glenco* which not being granted, *James Stuart* (who was fofeited for Treaſon by K. C. 2. and ſince Knighted by K. *W.*) has now the Place.

F I N I S.

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